

A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE,

In which are Contain'd

PROPOSALS.
About what Liberty in this
kind is now Politically Expe-
dient to be given, and severall
Reasons to shew how much the
Peace and Welfare of the Nation
is concern'd therein.

By R. T.

L O N D O N,

Printed for Nathaniel Brook, and are to
be sold at his shop at the Angel in
Cornhill. 1661.



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CONCERNING

LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE

IN A DISCHARGE OF CONSCIENCE

PROPOSALS

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Reasons to show how much the

Peace and Welfare of the Nation

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By R. P. ...

A. D. 1790

Printed for Nathaniel Paine, and sold to

be sold at his shop at the Wake in

Cambridge, 1791.

A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING

Liberty of Conscience, &c.

I Am not ignorant that it is the fate of those who proponnd modell's concerning Affaires of State or Religion, to be usually look'd on as knaves or fools, and as such who either do not know the incurable defects of humane nature, or by pretending to cure them, would only mend their own fortunes.

Leaving therefore the makers of plat-forms about morall things to such censures as attend them, I shall not

here in this following discourse of Liberty of Conscience, so much resemble him that draws the modell of an house, as one that applies an Engin to quench one a fire. And indeed the security of the Nation is so concerned in the granting of this Liberty, that any who shall by the contrary practice pretend to promote that, will most truly deserve the name of a projector.

Moreover, I know that in nothing more then about Liberty of Conscience querulous persons have shewn a childishness in their complaints, without telling what the very thing is that troubles them, and how far they would have it removed; and so complaining for want of Liberty of Conscience in generall, have been as ridiculous as a Plaintiff would be, that brought his Action about anothers owing him money in generall, or a Judge that accordingly order'd some money in generall to be paid. When therefore any subjects have exprest the due Liberty their Consciences need, then is a King
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in a capacity to shew a God-like benignity and power in granting the things they ask, as far as they conduce to his honour and the peoples good. Nor is it rationall that this Liberty should be granted on other termes: For a King that gives to all men all the Liberty of Conscience they beg from Him this day, will be forced to beg it from them the next. As I shall therefore decline such an offer of the ways of securing Liberty to the Consciences of the severall parties among us, as might amount to the exactness of a modell, and seem to impose upon the Magistrate, and tempt other men into an opposition of those methods whereof they were not the Inventors, so shall I likewise avoid the error of those who cry out for want of Liberty, before they know their own minds fully in this affaire, or take care that the Magistrate shall know them otherwise then by inspiration. Nor shall I at all in these papers consider what Liberty to the Consciences of others Religi-

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on, but purely what politicall interest prompts us to give. It is, I confess, none of the most renowned principles for Nations to preserve a fair intercourse with one another, and with their respective Members, because 'tis their interest so to do; but 'tis a thing much more shamefull for a people to be so insatuated, as not to see their interest when it is most obvious to them; as in this case of the due Liberty of Conscience it so eminently is, that it can be the reall Concernment of none but Souldiers of fortune to oppose it. 'Tis pity but those miseries which some mens pedantick incivilities to the Consciences of others have formerly overwhelm'd the Nation with, should be so instructive to us, as to convince us of the necessity of setting out the true bounds of Liberty of Conscience, as the *Egyptians* of old by the overflowing of their *Nile* were forc'd upon the study of Geometry, that so the certain bounds and proprieties of Lands might afterward be retrieved.

Liberty of Conscience.

I shall therefore without any more Prefatory words addresse my self to the proposalls about the freedom that is now fit to be given to the severall Protestant parties, differing in lesser matters of Religion among us; whose perswasions being different from those own'd by the Reverend Divines of our old Hierarchy, do put them in a present necessity of having some liberty granted to them.

First then I shall propound, that (if 1.^o there be not a coalition of those that are call'd the Presbyterians, and the Assertors of the former Hierarchy among us, into the same form of Church-Government, and thereby the Presbyterians so call'd be put in a capacity to divide the highest preferments of the Church with others,) however no Ministers may be devested of their present Livings, or be made incapable of being presented to other, merely because they have been ordain'd by Presbyters without Bishops.

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2 Secondly, that any publick Preachers of the Independent perswasion, may not meerly because of that discriminating opinion of theirs, be render'd incapable of being Lecturers in any Parish where the major part of the Parish, and the Minister shall desire them to be. More liberty is not desired in their behalf, because, according to their principles, it is not lawfull for them to take Tithes, and to do the usuall Offices of a Minister in a Parish.

The Reasons why I judge it convenient that the Pastors and Teachers of Independent Churches should thus (if nothing be alledged against them but their particular opinion) be permitted to preach publicly, are, because as to the Doctrinall part of Religion, they concur with the 39. Articles of the Church of England, and they are generally men of strict lives, and are such as have been bred up in the Universities; and if they have not the liberry allow'd them to preach pub-

publicly, it will necessarily occasion their preaching to their Churches in private meetings, which may be of worse consequence to the Magistrate than their publick preaching can be. And again, their opinions about Church-Government, though possibly not true, are not unworthy of good and Learned men; for by such they have been own'd, as namely by Ames, Ainsworth, and Cotton of New-England.

Thirdly, that those of these persuasions that are not Ministers, I mean Gentlemen and Tradesmen, Presbyterian or Independent, may not for their opinions sake as to Church-Government be debar'd of any civil employment in the Nation they are otherwise capable of. 3.

Fourthly, that Anabaptists may not be punish'd meerly for their opinion of Administring Baptism as they do, and their meeting to pray and preach, and take the Sacrament of the Lords Supper together. For though those of 4.

of that perswasion were in *Germany* as so many fire-ships among the States of the Empire, it doth not follow that others here must necessarily prove incendiaries in the same manner: ~~But~~ the acts of reasonable creatures may much more vary in severall places, then Lightning and Thunder happen to be more hurtfull in some Countreys then other, and some plants more or less poysonous in severall places.

5. Fifthly, that the Quakers may for a while be tolerated, till we have seen what effects their light within them will produce. A present and a speedy punishing so numerous a party would not be prudent, because the persecution of one party would alarme all the others, and make them fear that their turnes would be next. This is a party that none have reason to fear as long-liv'd according to the course of nature; for it doth not cherish the hopes of its followers by any sensuall pleasures in this World, nor can its principles assure

sure men of any reward in the World to come; because the Quakers having degenerated from the light of the Scripture to that within them, they can have no grounded assurance of any good terms in another World.

Those of them that are idle, and go from Town to Town, neglecting their callings, may without any injury or provocation to the rest of the parties be compell'd to work. And I am confident that these poor Enthusiastick people, by hard labour and diligence in their callings, might be at once cur'd of their melancholy and errors, and be thus induced no longer to call a bad spleen a good Conscience. Undoubtedly any Enthusiast that had been tired in some Mechanicall Trade by very hard labour in the day, would find little gusto in reading *Jacob Behmen's* works at night.

Sixthly, that those who professe the belief of a fifth Monarchy, that is, of Christs Reigning personally on the Earth a thousand yeares, and draw no
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consequences from thence about their duty in promoting that fifth Kingdom, by being active in dethroning any Magistrates, or devesting Bishops and Ministers of their places, because they are said to be of the fourth, may not for that opinion be liable to any punishment. For as ill uses as this opinion hath been put to in our dayes, it was believed by almost all the Fathers of the Church before the first *Nicene* Councell.

And therefore I do so state this sixth proposall, that only those now that believe a *Millennium*, and draw no more consequences of Rebellion and Sedition from it then its Primitive assertors did, may have the benefit of liberty.

As for those who by this innocent opinion would occasionally disturb civil Societies, it is fit they should be dealt with as enemies of mankind, and as such who would found the fifth Monarchy in a colluvies of more vile people then *Romulus* did the fourth, and would

would multiply Confusions and Disorders in the World, by destroying propriety, and producing innumerable swarmes of Hypocrites; in so much that if the Devil were to reign personally on the Earth, he would not fill the World with more prodigious impieties. For 'tis likely that he would not take away more mens lives then they, but rather be willing that severall generations of men should still succeed one another; and that he would account the most provoking indignities that could be offer'd God in the World, were only to be shewn by those men who would advance their temporall designs by Religion; it being a greater affront to a King to be put to servile and ignominious uses in his Kingdom, then to be banish'd from it.

Till any factious assertors of the fifth Monarchy can shew Gods warrant for their having Donations from him of our Estates, as the *Israelites* could for their seising on those of the *Egyptians*,

Egyptians; we have reason to look on them as the Nations exterminated by *Joshuah* out of their Countries did on him, who, as *Procopius* saith in the second book of his *Vandalics*, caus'd Pillars to be erected with words on them in the *Phanician* Language, which he thus renders, *ἡμεῖς εἰς μέν δι' οὐ γόνης: εἰς δὲ προσηύχοντες τῷ Χριστῷ υἱῷ Νουῦ.* i.e. We fly from the face of *Joshuah* the chief, the Son of *Nun*. But without doubt these mens design is not to claim our goods by such a right as Gods people, the *Israelites*, (who yet were weary of the Theocracy they liv'd under) did the *Egyptians* first of all, but as the *Mammals* did since, whose Government is the true example of theirs who would rule us by a Nation within a Nation.

And indeed those men may be ashamed to ask Liberty of Conscience, who in their principles proclaim they will never give it; from whom all the favour [such as are not of their opinions] can hope is to be kept so well in heart,

heart, as to be able to hew their wood and draw their water for them. Moreover, their abusing those words of the Saints inheriting the Earth, or, which is all one, founding dominion in grace, would leave us still in a state of war. For every man pretending to have grace, nothing can decide the controversie but the Sword where there is no intallible judge. Among the Papists there is a pretended one, and so the opinion of giving the balance of Land to the party preponderating in grace, where there is a steady hand to hold the scales, is not among them so mischievous as here it would be.

Seventhly, that neither the old Discipline, nor the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*, nor an acknowledgment of the lawfulness or expediency therof be obtruded on any of the fore-mention'd parties; nor that any censures from Ecclesiastical Courts, by Fines or Excommunication may be extended against them for

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Non-conformity. For though Excommunication from a Church which a man doth not own as true, or having Authority over him, doth terrifie him no more then predictions of Thunder from Almanacks, yet it makes that tremendous punishment of the the Gospel, that judgement precursory of the last, cease to be formidable. But truly according to the Custom of our Church, and much more according to the Church of *Scotland*, an Excommunicate person is some way obnoxious to outward punishments. And as our barbarous custom is for the Lord of a mannor to seize upon all the goods of any shipwrack'd persons that were thrown up by the Sea on the ground, so in *Scotland* often the goods of those men who fall as wrecks on the shore of the Church, accrue to it. And thus accidentally trouble is created to the Magistrate about tempering the rigour of the Church by his power: As one not many yeares since Excommunicated in *Scotland*, procur'd his

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Excommunication to be taken off by a Counsell of War; and so it was reversed *errante gladio*, as laid on possibly *errante clave*.

Having thus presented the proposalls to be considered, and therein occasionally given some Reasons for Liberty of Conscience, as it concerns some of the respective parties among us; it remains now that more generall Reasons be produced, and such as are comprehensive of the concernments of all or most of the parties differing in lesser matters of Religion: To prove how much a due liberty granted to them will conduce to the peace and safety of the Nation, and what publick inconveniences will follow from the contrary.

The first Reason shall be taken from the necessary connexion between Civil liberty, and that which is Spiritual; and therefore they that would devest any of their spirituall liberties, do alarm them with just caules of fear about their losing civil liberties by the same hands.

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For, first, it must necessarily be presumed that such persons intend to be judges how far mens civil and spirituall liberties reach, and what are the frontiers of both. Nothing we see is more common among the *Romish* Priests, then to pick the pockets of the people, *in ordine ad spiritualia*. And 'tis most certain that he who doth impose any thing upon the people under the species of Religion, would not leave them a power to judge whether it be in order to it or no. For if they are the Judges of it, they will say that any thing in Religion which displeaseth them opposeth their civil liberty, and so nothing at all will therein be enjoyed.

Secondly, those that take away from others their spirituall liberties, shew that they can take away part of their civill at least, or else the whole of them, accordingly as they valued their spirituall liberty. If it be said that mens civil liberties are thought more important then their spirituall, yet

yet it may be replied, that in the thoughts of very many men their spirituall liberties are as considerable as part of their civill: So that the totall destroyers of spirituall liberty shew that part of the civill is at their mercy. And if they are able to take away one part of mens civill liberties, they are by that means in a better capacity to take away another; just as he that is able to take away one limb from a mans body, is the more able to take away another, because by the losse of that a man hath the less strength to defend himself against a further assault.

But although in some parts of the World men have not the same high esteem for spirituall liberty as for civil, just as the *par* or proportion of Silver to Gold in severall Countries doth differ, it may be affirm'd that in this Nation generally they have. 'Tis true that broken-fortun'd men do not value civil liberty, nor men of debauch'd Consciences spirituall; but neither of

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these

these qualifications hath produced a generall undervaluing of either sort of liberty among us. As to what may be objected concerning some *Papish* Countries, as *Venice*, &c. where they have not a proportion of esteem for spirituall liberty equall to their civil ; I answer, that their Religion obligeth them to perform a servile obedience to the Bishop of *Rome* in things sacred, and they looking on him as infallible, have no reason to prize a liberty of not obeying him : Yet even in those places obedience to the Roman Catholick Religion is not maintain'd by the severe Discipline of an Inquisition. The policy of the *French* Nation is in this respect exactly good, the liberty of the *Gallican* Church being so cautiously asserted in order to the liberty of the *Gallican* Kingdom, where their Courts of Parliament in case of Appeals do declare void and null the *Popes* Bulls and Excommunications ; and forbid the execution of them when they are found contrary to the liber-

liberty of the *French Church*, and the Kings Prerogative. Nor without cause were the severall *European* Princes jealous of the *Popes* designs to invade their civil liberties, when, as Mr. *Selden* observes in his *Dissertatio ad Fletam*, *Innocent* the second being very earnest with them to admit the Canon Law into their Territories, they received the Civil Law, to keep out the Canon.

In which Law the Bishops of *Rome* have severall Titles, *De emptione & venditione*, *De locato & conducto*, and severall other Titles that concern Temporall affaires between man and man.

Thirdly, they engage themselves to be in readiness by Temporall power to maintain their conquests over mens spiritual liberties: For he that takes away a feather out of a mans hat, is obliged in interest to take away his sword from his side. If it be said that a man may think himself bound in Conscience to oppresse people in spi-

ritual things, but not in civil; I answer, most certainly then his Conscience will lead him to put them out of a condition to assert their spiritual liberties so oppress'd. It is with restraining the freedom of Conscience as the denying a *mare liberum* to neighbouring nations, which any Prince that doth must not trust to prescription of long time, or imaginary lines in the heavens whereby the compasse of his dominion of the Sea may be determined, but to powerfull Fleets.

Fourthly, they give men just cause to think that they *will be* willing to invade their civil liberties, whenever their Consciences or their interests shall prompt them to it.

From what hath been said in this first Reason about the connexion of civil and spiritual liberty, and mens concernednesse in the valuation of both, I shall occasionally affirm, that the next best way to Liberty of Conscience for the preservation of the publick peace of a Country, where spiritu-

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all liberty is regarded in any high measure by the people, is an *In-Pos*
quisition. But he hath much to learn *63-*
in Politicks, who thinks that an Inquisition is practicable among us as 'tis in Spain, where one Religion hath had quiet possession in the Countrey so many yeares.

The second Reason to prove that the Peace and Safety of the Nation will be very considerably advanced by the allowance of freedom to mens Consciences, shall be this;

As long as there is such a due Liberty of Conscience granted, 'tis hardly possible for any civil Wars to happen on the account of Religion, which for want of this freedom may. If there are but two parties in a Nation that differ from one another in Religion, 'tis not unlikely but that a civil War may arise on the account of Religion, though the one doth tolerate the other; because either of them that thinks its share in the chief Magistrates favour least, may for that rea-

son attempt a forcible suppression of the other : But any such War can hardly be where the parties differing in Religion are many; For they are not likely to know the exact strength of one another, and their severall animosities will keep them from joyning together against any one that doth not invade their liberty in generall. Nothing but extreme necessity can bring them to meet amicably and consult together. For the nearer they seem to one another in opinion, the sharper their mutuall hatreds are; just as people of severall Countreys that live in the frontiers of each, do hate one another with a greater vehemence then those more remotely situated do.

Besides, 'tis probable that if any one of the parties tolerated should go about to make it self uppermost, (which design only could make it fly out into a civil War) the rest would immediately joine to suppress it. For they are not sure they shall have that from the conquering party, after all the horrors

rors of War, which they already possesse, to wit, a fair liberty. Which if it be competently allow'd to the severall parties, seditious persons at home, and the Ministers of State to our enemies abroad, will be deprived of their old benefit from our Divisions in Religion, which they accidentally made use of as a handle to draw us into civil War; just as by the *Spanish* Counsells formerly the Kings of *France* have been excited to persecute the *Huguenots* sometimes, and the *Huguenots* been fed with money and advice to resist their persecutors; and as in like manner *Richelieu* is thought to have encouraged the last Arch-bishop of *Canterbury* to increase his severity toward the *Puritans*, and to have animated the *Scotch* and *English Puritans* to do as they did.

I grant that in respect of forreign invasion it is somewhat dangerous for a Prince to tolerate any Religion in His Countrey that his neighbours are of, and those potent, and likely to invade him.

him. For then such an invader would expect assistance from those of his opinion in Religion, who would promise to themselves the advantage of having their opinions the Paramount State-Religion upon the invaders success.

And for this reason we are obliged to be wary in the toleration we allow *Papists*. We have no reason to be afraid of the toleration of *Calvinists*, because the united Provinces in the Low Countries are of that perswasion, for they are not a Common-wealth of increase by Armes but Trade. Nor would they take our Countrey if we should offer it them, for they would not know what to do with it, as their affaires at present are, and likely to be.

In this second reason I consider, that as there is hardly a possibility of a civil War arising on the account of Religion, if there be a fair Liberty of Conscience established; so there is danger in this particular from the severall parties if there be no such liberty

ty. I grant that 'tis the principle and practice of some of these parties, and especially those call'd *Presbyterian* (by far the most considerable of them) to suffer for Religion, rather then to resist meerly for it; and therefore we have no reason to charge them with taking up of Armes purely for Religion. But yet I think, had it not been for Religions sake, and for the greater freedom of their Consciences, they would not formerly have pretended that necessity or lawfulness to take up Arms on a civil account as they did. For though their right in civil things was, as they pretended, the Constituent cause of the War, yet Religion was the impulsive, or that which inclined them to make use of the other; of which though they thought lawfully they could, yet but for this impulsive cause they would not have made use. And truly any man that considers the addictednesse of the English Nation to Religion in generall, will not wonder at mens being stimulated thereby to do

do what in civill things they think they lawfully may. Of this propension of the English not onely to Religion, but vehemence in it, Barclay doth well take notice, who saith of them,

Barclay in the
4th. book of
his Euphormio.

Nec quicquam in numinis cultu medicum possunt; and afterward speaking how ridiculously narrow in their principles our severall Sects were, saith, they thought *unos se cælestium rerum participes, exortes ceteros omnes esse. i. e.*

Nor can they in the worship of God do any thing without excesse, they think themselves the only sharers of Heavenly things, and all other persons to be no way concern'd in partaking of them. Nor is the strong and passionate inclination of this Kingdom to Religion, a humour bred lately among us since the introduction of *Protestancy*; for the greatest part of the Decretal Epistles in the books of the Canon-Law were sent to the English as *rescripts* occasioned by their addresses to the *Pope*, for his determination in se-

veral

veral matters of Religion. Besides, it may be attributed much to the efficacy of Religion in general among us, that no Epidemical vice is charged upon our Nation, as upon others.

But that which is most important in the confirmation of the tendency that the liberty propounded hath to promote the safety and peace of the Nation, is the consideration of the prevalent interest these severall parties have therein, and consequently ability to do harm or good; which I shall make use of as a **THIRD REASON** of the above-mentioned assertion.

Now here I shall begin with the sort of Divines call'd *Presbyterian*, (though more truly meriting to be styled those that are for moderate *Episcopacy*) and shall consider their interest and strength.

And first, the whole Kingdom of *Scotland* is united in a solemn League with them: Nor is the federall union likely to be dissolved between that Nation and them, because they have sub-

submitted to the form of Primitive *Episcopacy* described by the Bishop of *Armagh*, their Covenant binding them only against that high Prelacy formerly in use among us.

Secondly, the way of their preaching being very practically, and accompanied with zeal and vehemence, doth leave generally deep impressions on the minds of men, and consequently creates among the people a reverential esteem for their persons. And indeed so many Preachers as there are of the moderate *Episcopall* or *Presbyterian* way, there are so many Orators, whereby they influence the people more then if they were so many Possessors. Every one of them almost doth, as *Tully* saith, *aculeos relinquere in animis audientium*. Their way of Preaching is not whining, like that of the Sectaries; and though far from being in most of them conformable to the Rules of Rhetorick, yet I count it suitable to Oratory, because it doth perswade. 'Tis beyond dispute, that
this

this way of Puritanicall preaching hath insinuated it self much into the affections of many, by that civility and emendation of manners it hath profelyted them into, and so hath obtain'd respect both from them and their relations. Nor can it but be supposed that the common sort of men, I mean such as live by Trade, whose being either rich or beggers depends much on the honesty of their servants, should like that sort of Preachers best, who are most passionate and loud against Vice, and the appearances of it. And the impressions of this practicall way of Preaching are the more permanent in their hearers, because these Preachers do propagate the belief of the morality of the Sabbath, and do oblige their hearers to discourse on that day chiefly of Religious things, and to pass their time in Prayer, and Repetition of the Sermons then preach'd.

Thirdly, they are highly esteem'd by a great part of the people for the strictnesse and austerity of their lives.

And

And by nothing more then unstain'd lives can Ministers attract reverence for their persons and Doctrines.

How much mens affections cool toward a Religion many of the Teachers whereof are debauch'd, appears by that common observation of Travelers, that the people who live at a great distance from *Rome* are more superstitious then those who live in *Rome*, where they see so much profaneness among the Grandees of the Church.

Fourthly, being for the most part of them not much immerst in the Studies of School-Divinity, and indeed more Polite Literature, as Philology, &c. they are enabled to preach oftner, and have more Sermons of Practicall Divinity to Print, then the Reverend Divines of the old Hierarchy; and by this means to adde to their repete and credit with the people.

Fifthly, they converse more generally with one another, and with the common people, then the Reverend Divines

Divines that are for the former Prelacy do. And indeed men that are resolved Students, and habitually Bookish, have regrets against conversation, especially that of those men they can gain no knowledg by. Nor ~~indeed~~ is the company of illiterate Lay-men ordinarily acceptable to any Scholars, but such as pursue knowledg in mechanicks. Now so great and generall is the conversation of the Divines call'd *Presbyterian* with one another, that not one of them can come to live in any Countrey, but in a few weeks is known to all the Ministers of that party there, whom he meets at Lectures, or publick Fasts. On the other side, it is usual for the Divines of the former Prelatical perswasion, to admit only those to a freedom of converse with them that are in Ecclesiastical or Civil Dignity equal to them. Moreover, the Divines call'd *Presbyterian* do more then the others converse with their hearers, and by this means have the interest of Confessors among Lay-people,

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from whom they hear related the most secret passages of their Lives and Conscienc^{es}, and of the spiritual Maladies and Desertions they languish under.

And here it may be observ'd how the non-conforming Divines were heretofore necessarily more then the other obliged to be much in the company of their Lay-hearers; for by being so, most of them got those Church-preferments they had: Their opinions causing them to be put by from Fellowships of Colledges, in the Universities, they betook themselves for shelter to the Lay-Puritans in several parts of the Nation, and so compass'd the being Lecturers in Corporations and Market-Townes. And hereby they became of more active tempers, saw more of the World, were more harden'd, either for the resisting what troubles they could, and bearing what they could not resist, then others that in quest of knowledg and the highest dignities of the Church, had
been

been long in Universities accusom'd to private and sedentary lives.

Sixthly, by their dis-esteem of Ceremonies and external pomp in the Worship of God, they are the more endear'd to Corporations, and the greater part of persons engaged in Trade and Traffick, who hate Ceremonies in generall, that is, forms and set behaviours that are not necessary, as being not at leisure for them, and as they are expenceful, and as contrary to their Genius and Education. And indeed men that live amidst the continual dispatches of business in a way of Trade, do naturally grow into a hatred of what doth unnecessarily take up time. We see therefore in *Holland*, that Funerals (the last solemn Offices the dead can have paid them, and of which the observation in less Trading-Countries doth with its Ceremonies devoure so much time) are there to be celebrated before two i'th' afternoon; and for every houre that a Herse is kept in a house after that time, some-

what is paid to the State. Nor can it otherwise be, but that the same persons who nauseate Ceremonies in Civil things, will loath them likewise in Religious: Just as a man that hath an antipathy against Muskadine in his Parlour, cannot love it at the Sacrament.

pag 36 The Fathers, upon whose writings those that would now recommend Ceremonies to the Church do build their assertions of them, were such as did live in the Southern parts of the World, where Ceremonies are more lov'd in Civil and Religious things, then by us Northern people they are. And besides, the people there being of sharper wits then among us they are, the Artifices of Ceremonies are requisite to raise mists before their understanding faculties, and to detain them from as much knowledg as they can by admiration, lest they should become the less obedient by being the more knowing. The eminency of the Southern wits above the Northern appears to us from the constant

stant and just complaints of Northern Nations, that the Southern have still over-reach'd them in Treaties, after they had defeated their Armies in the field. And what I here observe concerning these Nations, is attested by *Bodin* in his fifth Book *De Republicâ*: Where he shews what his observation of the Genius and subtle understandings of Southern people was, and how it was fit they should be awed into the doing of things by a solemn and pompous managery of Religion.

'Tis further observable concerning Northern Nations, that they are more addicted to Trade than Southern; which they are necessitated to be, because the things that of their own accord, that is, without industry, grow out of the Earth, are fewer among them than Southern; and because they are more populous: and while they are more than the other Nations addicted to Trade, they must needs be less addicted to Ceremonies. The Hollanders may serve as an instance to

evince the truth of this, who having scarce any native commodities, & being a populous Countrey, for their quantity of ground, and being forced to advance Trade, can hardly abstain from Markets on the Lords Day, and do account it a piece of Devotion to cover their Wares in Sermon-time. Much less could they, or indeed any Trading Countrey, admit so many Holy-days as our Church of *England* did abound with. The *Lutheran* Religion being profest chiefly in Countries that subsist by Trade, though it owns an Episcopall form of Church-Government, hath annex'd to it but few Ceremonies; and I think except bowing at the name of *Jesus*, and standing up at the *Creed*, none considerable. Nor are there in any Church of *Calvin's* perswasion Responsalls to be used by the people in their Liturgies, as in ours: Nor in the *Lutheran* Churches, do any but the Chatechis'd boys mind them much. And in *Holland* the *Lutheran* Church doth admit men to the
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Sacrament without private Confession and Absolution, which in less Trading places it strictly requires. While I am now inquiring into the disposition of Trading Countries, I shall by the way observe, that the interest which the Protestant Religion hath in them, is its greatest visible security and defence. For though Princes of the Popish Religion do command a greater quantity of ground then Protestant Princes, yet they have not an interest in Maritime Townes and Trading places equall to them. And as the present State of Christendom is, he that commands the Sea commands the shore, and the Dominion of the Sea through Gods mercy is in Protestant hands. But to return from whence I digrest. If we reflect on those that did most love Ceremonies heretofore in our Nation, we shall find them to have been persons of the greatest Rank and Quality among us, who did affect Ceremonies in Civil things; or of the poorest sort, who did get their daily

bread by the Charity of the other. The midling sort of men, and especially the substantial Trades-men of Corporations, did generally disgust them. So natural is it for men to paint God in colours suitable to their own fancies, that I do not wonder at Trading persons who hate Ceremonies, that they thus think God in respect of this hatred altogether such as themselves. And therefore Almighty God designing his Worship from the Jewish Church to be full of Ceremonies, and such as were Typical of his Son, did divert that Nation from the utmost promoting of Trade. To this end they were not planted, except a few of them by the Sea-side, but in In-land places, and thereby were the better enabled to advance shepherdry, and the multiplying of various kinds of Cattel in order to their Sacrifices. They were forbid to take use money of one another, not that there was any reall evil or Injustice in Usury, but that it would have drawn them on to the advance-

vancement of Trade, and consequently have interrupted the course of their solemn Rites and Ceremonies: Religion would then have suffer'd by Trade, whereas the contrary thing hath since happen'd from it. For beside *in some* those Vices that are concomitant of Idleness, which Trade repels, the increase of Navigation must necessarily propagate the knowledg of Christian Religion, as well as humane Arts and Sciences. Thus, *Multi pertransibunt, & augetur Scientia.*

If in opposition to what hath been said about Trading persons, being generally disaffected to Ceremonies in Religion; any shall urge, that in the Popish Republicks Trade and Ceremonies are both us'd: It may be answer'd, that the many Ceremonies there are rather endured then loved, and that if mens understandings were not there mis-guided by a belief of their being necessary to salvation, the practice of them would quickly be abated; just as we see the motion of a lock to be alter'd when
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the hand is removed that held back the spring. Let but the Protestant Religion get ground there, and so consequently the Tributes of their time be no more demanded for their present Ceremonies, and we shall soon find how unwilling they will be to pay them.

I shall now briefly speak of the other parties, as the *Independents*, &c. and take notice of their considerableness, and hopes of bidding fair for an interest in the hearts of any of the people.

And here I shall observe, that if these Sects had got no ground in the Nation, that yet they want not their likelyhoods of doing it; and that first by reason of the ready inclination of many among us to mutability, in nothing more then their opinions about controverted things in Religion. For opinions held by the English are held by Islanders; And therefore *Bodin* in his *Methodus ad facilem historiarum cognitionem*, and fifth chapter of it, doth
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very judiciously shew how people are to be moderated by different Laws, according to their Climates and Situations, which he confirms by mentioning the severall Vices and Vertues of Countries remotely distant from one another; saying, how that *Vento-
sa loca ferociore homines & mobiliore
reddunt, quita verò humaniore & con-
stantiore.* i. e. Countries disturb'd with frequent winds make men more fierce and mutable; but Countries that are free from such, do make men more civil and constant.

And secondly, because the Protestant Religion doth indemnifie us in the Court of Conscience, for believing in matters of Religion according to the Dictates of our private Judgements, or rather oblige us to it. Doubtless, if it be not lawful for every man to be guided by his private judgement in things of Religion, t'will be hardly possible to acquit our separation from the Romish Church from the guilt of schism. The Genius of the Protestant
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Religion doth make it as naturall to us to weigh and consider any notions, though recommended to us by our Ministers, as 'tis to tell money after our spiritual Fathers, which we shall be as ready to do as after our naturall. Nor can the decisions of Synods and General Councils terminate our inquiries in Religion, or keep single Divines from recommending notions *de fide*. And therefore as any Judge is concern'd to be wary how he gives sentence in a cause, or inforceth the Execution of it, when there lie appeals from his to severall other Judicatories; so doth it likewise import Synods or Conventions of Divines to be cautious in their deciding matters of Faith, since every such cause is to be carryed from their Bar to the examination of more then ten thousand Chancellours, as many being Judges of the cause as there are rational men. It hath been long since observ'd by many, that Christian Religion hath moderated the extremity of servitude as to civil

civil things in the places where it hath been receiv'd. And certainly it is much more consonant to that Religion, and especially that form of it which hath asserted its spirituall freedom from the impositions of others, to allow spiritual liberty to others. Nor doth it seem worthy of Christ, who hath left us a Religion full of Mysteries, and not any visible Judge of them, to have design'd about those any visible Executions. If any man thinks otherwise let him say so. I might further shew how these Sects careffe the vulgar, in giving the power of the keys to the people in their gather'd Churches; and how likely 'tis that many busie men, and of good natural parts, who have not Learning enough to procure any good Church-preferment from the old or modern Episcopall men, and it may be any such Learned men as have been repuls'd by them as to preferment, will be gathering Churches.

But this present inquiry concerning
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the interest the severall Sects among us have in the hearts of many, needs no further prosecution. We find too many places swarming with them: And such is the peculiar temper and complexion of most people of these persuasions, and the melancholy of them more fix'd and sharp then that of any other party, that this concurring with Religion (of which I doubt not but very many of them have a true sense) will incline them to persist in their present practises. Of the height and settledness of these mens discontents we had experience, in their voluntary removal out of the Nation, carrying their Estates with them, some to *Holland*, and others to *New England*; when the other more sagacious party of non-Conformists, since call'd *Presbyterians*, chose to weather out the storm at home, and to get for themselves as good terms as they could.

THE FOURTH REASON that I shall urge to prove how much the peace and security of the Nation will be

be advanc'd by the liberty propound-
ed, may be taken from the inclinati-
ons of Orders and Degrees of other
men among us, and such as are not
much engaged in these parties; who
account it their interest to be free from
any religious impositions of the Cler-
gy, and to have the power of Bishops
so moderated, as that they may not be
able to make any suffer for not being
of their opinions in lesser matters of
Religion. And here I shall observe,
first, how the Judges of the Land and
the Lawyers generally have been rea-
dy to curb the excess of power in any
Bishops. The Bishops judging of Ec-
clesiastical causes according to the Ca-
non Law, (a Law of which *Albericus*
Gentilis, that renown'd Civilian, saith in
the 19th. chap. of his second Book *De*
Nuptiis, Sed hoc ius brutumque & barba-
rum sane est, natum in tenebris seculorum
spississimis; productum a monacho tene-
brione, &c.) was an occasion of our
Lawyers contrasts with them. And
what may well create suspicions, that
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the Bishops keeping of Courts as they did was not according to Law, may be had from those words of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, in his Epistle Dedicatory to the King before his Speech in the Star-chamber.

I do humbly in the Churches name desire of Your Majesty, that it may be resolv'd by all the Reverend Judges of England, and then Publish'd by Your Majesty, that our keeping Courts and Issuing Proceſſe in our own Names, and the like Exceptions formerly taken, and now renew'd, are not against the Law of the Realm, &c.

And how ready the Lawyers have been to check the severity of Ecclesiastical Courts, their innumerable prohibitions shew. In the dayes of Popery the Prelates could awe the Judges with Excommunication, for such crimes as the Church call'd so. But how little of terrour the application of that censure hath had since, appears from the frequent denouncing of it against the same man. And therefore that

that Learned Lawyer Judge *Jenkins*, in the second part of his Works, saith, that for opposing the excesses of one of the Bishops, he lay under three Excommunications.

Secondly, the substantial body of the Gentry heretofore was, and is still likely to be for the moderating the exercise of Episcopal power, and for the opposing its extravagance.

The oath *ex officio*, and commuting for penance, and other such kind of things, cannot but be thought troublesome to them. But that which I shall here chiefly take notice of, is, how a considerable part of the Gentry of *England* is grown more inquisitive in matters of Religion within these late yeares then formerly.

Where this inquiring temper is not, no opinion so horrid but may be universally believ'd. Thus the Turks may be induced to think that there is a Devil in the joyce of Grapes, and the Papists that there may be a God therein. But when men are neither by

Religion or temper restrain'd from searching into the causes of things, they will not in civility to other mens understandings believe propositions to be true or false. And that which makes me (beside my own observation) to conclude that many of the Gentry of late are grown more inquisitive in Religious things then formerly, and are likely so to continue, is, because they are more then heretofore inquisitive in civil things.

As when the polish'd knowledge of Philologic had obtain'd a conquest over the insignificant Learning of the School-men, no man was thought worthy the name of a Scholar but he who understood the Greek Tongue; so since the late introduction of real Learning into the World by Galilaw, Tycho Brahe, my Lord Bacon, Gassendus, & Des Cartes, neither the knowledge of elegant words, or nice Speculations, will yield any man the Reputation of being Learn'd that is altogether rude in Mathematicks; which as they were
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formerly counted the Black Art, and their Professors, such as *Roger Bacon*, Conjurers, so may possibly School-Divinity and School-Divines hereafter be.

Having thus asserted the present searching disposition of a great part of our ingenious Gentry, it may well be hence infer'd that liberty of conscience may be of high use to them, and that if any Ecclesiasticall persons determine any thing contrary to their reasons, they will not believe them, or, if against their safety, not obey them. I think therefore by the way, it was very politicly done of the Consistory of Cardinalls to imprison *Galilaeus* for affirming the motion of the Earth, since that notion of his might fill the world with several new debates and inquiries, and so Ignorance the mother of Devotion be destroy'd.

To prevent which, effectually care is taken by the *Jesuites*, as appears by the instructions given them in the Directory of their order, call'd *Directorium*

exercit. spirit. Ignatii Loyolæ, part 2. p. 172. Where there are, Regula aliqua tenenda ut cum Orthodoxâ Ecclesiâ sentiamus. And the first Rule is, *Ut sublato proprio omni judicio, teneamus semper promptum paratumque animum ad obediendum Catholica & Hierarchica Ecclesia.* It followes p. 176. Reg. 13. *Ut Ecclesia conformes simus, si quid quod oculis nostris appareat album nigrum illa definiuerit, debemus itidem quod nigrum sit pronuntiare.* This is in the Edition of that Book at Tholou, Anno 1593. and confirm'd by the Bull of Pope Paul the third.

In short, he that hath had but any conversation with that ingenious part of the Gentry who have concern'd themselves in the consideration of Church-Government, cannot but take notice of these two assertions being in vogue among them; which whether true or no 'tis not here pertinent to determine.

The first, that 'tis possible for Monarchy to subsist here without that high

high power our Bishops formerly had, and so that Maxim, *No Bishop no King*, hath been disbelieved. This Maxim seems to them true concerning *Turky*, *No Musli no Grand Signior*, because the *Musli* can with the Screen of Religion as he pleases hide the ugliness of those actions the Grandeur of the Turkish Empire is supported by. But our Kings govern according to Law, and so the Engin of Superstition is not here of use for the amusing people into slavery. I confess, any party of men that wil not own the Kings Supremacy in Ecclesiastical causes as well as Civil, is not fit to be allow'd as the State-Religion.

But that Supremacy of the Kings in Ecclesiastical matters and in Civil, is acknowledged by the Divines that are for the Lord Primates form of Episcopacy, as much as by any other.

A second assertion very much receiv'd among them is, that no particular form of Church Government is of Divine right. Of this opinion my Lord Bacon shews himself to be expressly

presly in his Considerations touching
 the Edification and Pacification of the
 Church of England: and so my Lord
 Falkland, in one of his printed Speeches,
 where speaking of Bishops, he saith, I do not
 believe them to be *jure divino*, nay I believe
 them to be not *jure divino*, but neither do I believe
 them to be *injuria hominum*. So that it
 is no wonder that among our ordinary
 enquirers after knowledge this notion is
 believed, which was so by those two
 incomparably Learned persons. And
 it may seem much more to gratifie the
 power of Princes, then the Maxim, *No
 Bishop no King* can do. The Author of
 the History of the Council of Trent,
 makes mention how Laymez, Generall of
 the Jesuits, spent a whole Congregation in
 proving that Bishops are *jure pontificio*,
 and not *jure divino*; and said, that the
 power of Jurisdiction was given wholly
 to the Bishop of Rome, and that none in
 the Church hath any spark of it but from
 him. 'Tis there said how the Legats
 were of opinion that the question of the

Divine Right of Bishops was set on foot to gratifie the Authority of Bishops, and that the Importance of that might be to inferre that the Keys were not given to Peter onely, that the Council was above the Pope, and the Bishops equal to him; they saw that the Dignity of Cardinals Superior to Bishops was quite taken away, and the Court brought to nothing; that the Preventions and Reservations were remov'd, and the Collation of Benefices drawn to the Bishops.

Thus we see how apt men are to make use of Divine Right, as first, and to count it a good servant, but a bad Master. Nor are some without their feares, that if Bishops were here publickly own'd as by Divine Right, that the King would quickly lose his Power of nominating them, and subjects the benefit of Appeals from their Courts to the King in Chancery. I acknowledge that a moderate Episcopacy is generally reputed of Church-Governments the best: But the believers of the Divine Right of it are of late years

grown very few. For the skirmishes in the Presse and Pulpit concerning it, between the Divines of severall parties, have occasion'd two popular reasons to be brought against it; which how valid they are, is not my task to determine.

The first is this, That is not likely to be of Divine positive Right (which is the Right here meant) about which Christians equally considerable for strength of parts, both naturall and acquired, and for time spent in that part of Controversiall Divinity that concerns Church-Discipline, and withall for holinesse in their lives, do at last disagree.

The second Reason drawn from the eager Disputes of Church-men about their severall Divine Rights is this; Nothing really oppressive of Civil Societies, or destructive of their welfare, is of Divine Right: but so these forms of Church-Government have been by the opposite Divines of each Perswasion accused to be, and likewise by other persons. It

It hath been further observ'd by many, that though severall things were once confirm'd in the Church by an Apostolicall Precept or Practice, they are like Lawes abolish'd by desuetude, and do not now oblige the Christian world, according to the Vogue of all our Church-men: as namely the *Diaconissa*, the Anointing the sick with Oyle, the Peoples saying Amen after the Ministers Prayers, and Preaching with the head uncover'd, &c.

To conclude the Examination then of this particular; a considerable number of the Laity, whose Fortunes and Parts do keep them from standing up and drawing their swords to maintain other mens Creeds in every circumstance of them, having by the contests of the Clergy found out (as they think) the Vanity of all their pretendings to Divine Right, will not encourage immoderate and high behaviours in any one party of them; but upon this their imagin'd detection

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A Discourse concerning
 on adhere to that form of Church-
 Government that shall seem to them
 most consistent with the Nations
 good; just as the Roman Emperours
 were sometimes chosen in the Camp,
Evulgato (as Tacitus saith) Imperii
arcano, Principem alibi quam Romæ fieri
posse.

Thirdly, it is naturall to Parliaments to check any Power that invades a due Liberty of Conscience, themselves wanting it as well as those whom they represent.

Nor can any body of men be well without it, as we see in the late Assembly of Divines, that party which joyn'd against the Independents did want Liberty of Conscience about no mean points in Religion; some of those Presbyterian Divines (as they were call'd) being of *Calvins*, and others of Bishop *Davenants* opinions, concerning Election and Reprobation.

And moreover, the Parliament that call'd that Synod was in matters

ters of Religion much more divided.

But I shall chuse to look further back on the nature of our Parliaments in reference to Religion. It cannot be expected that while Popery was prevalent in *England*, much Liberty of Conscience should be granted; the Pope being then reputed the Vicar of Christ in Spiritual things, was necessarily to be obey'd therein.

And yet notwithstanding the Authority he had here, no man suffer'd death for opposing his Dictates in Religion, till the second of *Henry* the fourth. Nor are there wanting Lawyers, and those both Learned in their Profession, and in this case uninteressed, who deny that this Statute was ever more than a pretended one, and say that it was never assented to by the Commons; and that whereas in the Act it self it is said, *Pralati & clerici supra-*
dicti, ac totum communiter dicti reg-

ni supplicarant, that those words, *Communitates dicti regni*, are not in the Parliament-Roll, in which when the Law comes to be Enacted it runs in this form of words, *Qui quidem Dominus Rex ex assensu magnatum, & aliorum procerum ejusdem Regni, concessit & statuit, &c.* where the Commons are not at all named. See Mr. Bagshaw of the Temple his Reading on the Statute of 25. Edward the III. call'd, *Statutum pro clero*, p. 32.

But that *de facto* this Statute went currant for Law, the cruell effects of it did too clearly shew. Yet as high as the Popish Clergy then was, with whom that usurping King complied, the Commons petition'd the King to take away their Temporal Possessions, and that the Statute made against *Lollards* in the second year of the King might be repeal'd. And by the complaint of the Commons, as appears by the Statute of 25. Henry the VIII. it was then in part repeal'd.

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Afterward in a Parliament held *Vicesimo octavo* of the Queen the Commons quarrell'd with the Excessive Power of the Clergy, desiring to have it restrain'd both in the conferring of Orders, and in their Censures and Oath *Ex officio*.

'Tis true, the Foundation of the high Commission is built upon the Statute of the first of Queen *Elizabeth*; but the design of that was chiefly to destroy the interest of the Popish Clergy then not exterminated. In the Reigns of following Princes, a party known by the Name of Puritan had obtain'd a large Vogue in Parliament, insomuch that that party, and another call'd the Patriots (a sort of men who were Zealots for the welfare of the Nation, though not for any Religion) being frequently in conjunction, were the over-ballancing party in the House of Commons. And in the last Parliament on the fifteenth of December,

her, 1640. It was resolv'd, *scilicet* *contradicent*, That the Clergy of England Convented in any Convocation or Synod, or otherwise, have no power to make any Constitutions, Canons or Acts whatsoever, in matter of Doctrine, or otherwise, to bind the Clergy or Laity of this Land, without the Commons consent in Parliament; and that the severall Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiasticall, treated upon by the Arch Bishops of Canterbury and York, and the rest of the Bishops and Clergie of those Provinces, and agreed upon by the Kings Majesties Licence, in their severall Synods began at London and York, 1540, do not bind the Clergy or Laity of this Land, or either of them. Which Vote of that House may seem to be grounded on this consideration, that a Legislative power is inseparable from the King and Parliament; and that if a Parliament would transmit their interest in the

the Legislative Power to any other order of men, they cannot do it, more than a Judge can delegate his Authority to his Clerks, or any be a Deputies Deputy.

I shall onely here further observe, that the Lawyers (whose Obligations on the account of interest to moderate the power of Bishops I have before spoke of) are still likely to be a great part of the House of Commons, and to have the conduct of Parliamentary Affaires much in their hands, and to concur with any party against the Bishops, if they should invade the due Liberty of mens Consciences, or endeavour to make themselves formidable in the Nation.

The LAST REASON I shall urge to prove what advantages will redound to the Nation from the allowance of a due Liberty of Conscience, is, that it will necessarily produce an advancement of our Trade and Traffick, the hinderance whereof must needs follow from the contrary practice. The large-

largeness of Trade in any Countrey is most certainly founded in the populousness of it.

'Tis onely in populous Countries that the wages of work-men are cheap, whereby a greater store of Manufactures is prepared for Exportation. In populous Countries onely they sell their own Commodities dear, and buy foreign cheap. 'Tis there that Land is worth twice as many yeares purchase as elsewhere. And in such Countries onely is the fishing Trade carryed on, which none will employ themselves in that can live upon the shore reasonably well; and which in populous Countries enough will not be able to do.

This then being laid down as a principle, that the wealth of any Nation depends on its populousness, I may confidently affirm, that the populousness of a Countrey doth much depend upon the Liberty of Conscience that is there granted.

The Kingdom of *Spain* may here serve

serve for this to be Exemplified in, where there are not men enough to Manufacture their own Wooll, and where there is more black money, Brass or Copper Coin used then in other Nations, notwithstanding all the Silver that comes thither from the *West-Indies*. It was the rigour of the Inquisition that brought that Monarch, who would have been an universall one, to send Ambassadors to his high and mighty subjects.

But we need not look out of our own Countrey for instances of Trades suffering together with Freedom of Conscience: For by reason of the former severity exercised on those that would not conform to the Ceremonies imposed, many thousands of people bred up in a way of Trade and Traffick left the Kingdom, going, some of them to *America*, and others to *Holland*, where our Countrey-men did compensate to the Hollanders for severall Manufactures which they directed us to, when the Rage of Duke

Alva's persecution occasion'd their residence among us. And what could more prejudice the Trade of our Countrey I know not, then the peopleing other Countries with our Artificers, and the teaching them our Arts and Manufactures. And it is considerable that the sort of Trading men on whom the shock of persecution did seem to light most heavily, was that of those whose Trades did lie chiefly in advancing our staple-Commodity of Wooll, and preparing our Old and New Draperies for Exportation: to which Trades the ordinary sort of Puritan Non-Conformists were rather inclined then to ploughing and digging, because in these Trades of theirs, as namely Weaving, Spinning, Dressing, &c. Their Children might read Chapters to them as they were at work, and they might think or speak of Religious things, or sing Psalmes, and yet pursue their Trades. Besides, these Trades were more suitable to their
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Constitutions, which were generally not so Robust as of others; and to the melancholy of their tempers.

Now these men being frequently disturb'd by Apparitors, and summon'd to Ecclesiasticall Courts for working on Holy-Days perhaps, or going on a Sunday to some Neighbouring Parish when they had no Sermon in their own, or for some such causes, were so hinder'd in the course of their Trades, that they were necessitated to remove out of the Kingdom. They could not expect that Merchants or other Trading persons would imploy them and take their work, unlesse they could bring it in at such a set time that it might be as occasion required Exported, and sent to Faires and Markets abroad at punctuall times likewise; which Merchants are concern'd in taking care of, lest their Commodities be under-sold.

Now these Puritan Traders were not in a capacity to dispatch the send-

ing in of their Manufactures to others at the time agreed on, by reason of their frequent Citations to, and Delays at, the Bishops Courts.

And since other Nations have now the way of making Cloath, as namely *France, Holland and Flanders*, if we do not sell it cheaper then they, we shall hardly have any abroad sold at all.

To conclude the Examination of this particular affaire; not any that hath search'd at all into the nature of the Trade of this Nation, but believes that the best way to advance it would be to call in and invite any Protestant strangers to come and live among us; and to encourage Artists of all Nations to come and plant themselves here: which cannot be done without the giving them a due Liberty of Conscience, and if it be our interest to encourage strangers, and give them this Liberty, this dealing may much more be expected by our own natives.

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But, 'tis needlesse to infist longer in giving plain reasons for a plain proposition.

I shall onely therefore before I now draw this discourse about the due Liberty of Conscience that is fit to be practised in this Nation toward an end, shew that thereby the Reverend Fathers of the Church, the Bishops, will find their inter st advanc'd in particular, as well as the interest of the Nation in generall.

If any man shall say that the Government of the Church by Bishops is the most pure and Apostolicall, I am firmly of his opinion; yet as *No Bishop no King* is now no uncontradicted Maxim, so is it lesse unquestion'd, that no force in matters of Religion, no Bishop. But notwithstanding the severity that hath been exercised on mens Consciences by former Prelats, such is the prudence of some of the present Fathers of the Church, that they will I believe see it to be as much their interest to give Liberty

of Conscience, as it can be the interest of any men to receive it. And indeed if this were but in a fair manner distributed among the severall Sects I have spoken of, they would no more endeavour the destruction of the Episcopall Clergy, then the *Jews* at *Rome* tolerated do design the ruine of the Pope. Nay further, these Sects having liberty under their Government would serve them as a ballance against popular envy. I have often wish'd that our Nobility would dispose the Education of some of their Sonnes in order to Ecclesiasticall preferments, and that a great deal of envy might be diverted by the same persons, being Lords Spiritual and Temporall. But it cannot be expected that persons nobly descended should be engaged in Holy Orders, till they could see the way of Administring things in the Church to be as much in the affections of the people here, or above danger from their hatred, as in other Countries it is, where
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the Nobles are many of them Church-men; Now then the Reverend Fathers the Bishops, may compass the Affections of the people by Liberty of Conscience, and security from the danger of their hatred by an Inquisition; but (as I said before) that cannot it self be compassed here.

Indeed our Ecclesiasticall Rulers have reason to steer us cautiously, since they sit at Helm in such a ship as hath thrown very many Pilots over-board. And it may well become those Worthy Divines that have been of late releast through Gods good Providence from the extremity of their sufferings, to be of most calm, quiet and sedate spirits, just as persons taken from the rack do presently fall asleep.

The great alteration in the body of the people since these last twenty years, requires that our old ends of promoting the welfare of the Church of *England*, should be attain'd by the conduct of new means.

For the greatest part of the old Assertors of all the Ceremonies of the Church are lodged in graves, many of the zealous Lovers of them are now in Heaven, where *Calvinists* and Episcopal men agree; and the present Major part of this Land consists of those, to whom the introducing the old Church-Government will seem an innovation.

I grant the inconveniences which we suffer'd for want of Church-Government in generall have been many, and those which we should have suffer'd from a Scotch Presbytery would have been more. But yet it must likewise be granted, that the undistinguishing vulgar will be but too ready to endeavour the removall of any Church-Government which doth at present inconvenience them, without considering that the miseries they formerly felt will thereby recur upon them; just as a horse will strive to sling any Rider that doth at present gall and spur him too much, without considering

ring that the next Rider may possibly gall him worse; or as a man would try to repell the hand of one who held a burning coal to his flesh, though he should tell him that if that coal were removed he would apply a hotter. They therefore that would endeare any form of Church-Government to the Majority of the people, are concern'd to make it largely diffusive of advantage to them.

'Tis very apparent how many parties among us have been ruin'd by narrowing their interest, and not making it nationall. And God grant that after all our enquiries about Church-Discipline, the Gentry of *England* be not by any divisions the present Clergy may cause, tempted to cry up the Divine Right of *Erastianisme*, and say *No Erastian no King*; which opinion doth as much exceed the Episcopal in giving power to the King, as the Episcopal doth the Presbyterian, or that the Independent perswasion.

It is therefore the true interest of
the

the Clergy here so to temper the Government of the Church, that it may be accommodated to the content and satisfaction of the Gentry or other Lay-persons, and of its own Members. And 'tis very irrationall to think that any Church-Government in a Protestant Countrey can be so, which doth restrain a large and almost absolute power to the hands of a few. Nor is it more prudent for *France* to own no distinction between a Gentry and a Nobility, but to allow equal priviledges to such as we reduce to two Orders here, that it may effectually curb the insolence of the Peasants, then for the whole Clergy here to grow into one body or form of Government, and all the parts thereof to be influenced with a convenient power, that so it may be in no danger from the Enemies of a Ministry in generall. Nor was there ever any thing propounded as a means to make the Clergy of *England* very considerable, that can be thought comparable to the form

form of Episcopacy described by the Bishop of *Armagh*. And therefore I do not wonder that its publickly own'd by the Divines formerly call'd Presbyterian (who now deserve a name less odious, and to be call'd the Divines that are for moderate Episcopacy, as I said before) but rather that it is not as generally contended for by all their brethren of the Church, excepting a few that are actually invested with the highest Dignities therein. Now if we divide the Clergy here into ~~four~~ parts, not one in three hath these great Dignities, or is likely in any time to attain to them. But that which the Bishop of *Armaghs* model of Episcopacy offers to more then three parts of four, is an Accession of power, or a gaining of that Authority in Ecclesiasticall matters, as namely in Ordination and Church-Censures, which before they had not. And certainly, the grasping of present power must needs to any Ingenious men of the Clergy seem more delightfull then the

the tedious Expectation of distant preferments, and the servile licking up of any mens spittle, that others hereafter may do so with theirs. By the practice of this modell the spirit of the Clergy would be kept from being embased, and the ordinary sort of Vicars would be cured of affecting servility, laziness and ignorance. Industry, Parts, Learning, would be likewise thereby encouraged. For the power of the Keys being thus given to the Bishop and all the Presbyters in any Precinct or Dioces, those men that could offer the best reasons for things, and shew the greatest strength of parts, would be most swaying in Ecclesiastical Conventions.

Nor is it likely that the Gentry would be aggrieved at the practice of this way of Episcopacy, or every Church-Censure's passing through a Consistory of Divines. For 'tis not probable that in such an Assembly there should be a Combination to execute any censure on any man, to

gra-

gratifie the lusts or private piques of another. Besides, there is no such way that a Divine can use to make himself considerable with the Laity as his being eminent for power in the sphere of his own Profession; just as a Mercer that would by any sway influence the Company of Drapers, must first obtain a large interest in his own Company.

In short, the Clergy by this fair distribution of Ecclesiastical power among them will not be in danger of ruine by the discontents of any of its Members, or of any of the Laity while Liberty of Conscience is secured to them, and Ceremonies are not imposed. Nor is there any way by which the inconveniences of the Presbyterian Government can again invade us, but by the engrossing of Ecclesiasticall power in the hands but of few persons, and by their using Rigour and Violence. I know 'tis ridiculous to imagin that a Presbyterian Government can under that notion
find

find many to own it now in this Kingdom.

Yet are the Non-Conformists likely still to increase, as from *Edward* the sixths time to this they have gradually done. And some that are weary of our former Presbytery, may yet be willing to return to it, if they find Episcopacy Afflictive to them; though thereby they onely shift their pain. For nothing so much as Persecution makes men set up, *Altare contra altare*, every man choosing rather to be a Sacrificer on his own Altar, then a Sacrifice upon anothers. If any Ecclesiastical persons therefore shall design to gratifie the Peace and Welfare of the Nation without the allowance of a due Liberty of Conscience, I shall think their onely aime hereby is to confirm the truth of their Doctrine and Discipline by a miracle. I cannot but judge them too sagacious, to believe that they can convince mens understandings of the truth of any Assertions by Torturing their bodies.

For

For men by the rage of passion to conduct knowledg into the World, is as unlikely as the lighting of a candle with Gun-powder. How ridiculous is it to think that Truth got any thing by the writings that pass'd between *Luther* and *Henry* the eighth? There are severall erroneous opinions, that if we wish the world well rid of, we shall find to die away of their own accord, if we do not exasperate the maintainers of them; just as nature makes us amends for the ugliness of Monsters in their being short-lived. Yet even in the case of naturall unhand-somenesse, I have seen the vulgar vary from their common Rule of judging it, when a deform'd Malefactor hath been going to Execution. Nor do the words of Cheaters that die on Gibbets want belief among the Rabble. And if the common people are alwaies so ready to believe what is affirm'd by infamous persons, because they are dying, we may well suppose they will give credit to the words of such

such as liv'd demurely when they are to die, because such and such thing were affirm'd by them. I believe that hardly more Priests have been cut off by the Law then Papists thereby made. That Faith hath been given to the Assertors of Popish opinions, because they have been dying, which they could just have drawn from me by raising the dead. Nor is it a thing unobserv'd by any lookers into Antiquity, that the Christian Religion hath still got ground in the World, not by persecuting but being persecuted.

But that which I cannot without horror observe, is, that the not allowing a due Liberty of Conscience, hath instead of advancing the cause of Truth, propagated Atheism in this Nation. This doth but too clearly appear from that Irreligion many of our Gentry have been infected with by the Reverend Divines of the Church of *England* not having had freedom to Worship God in publick according

according to their Consciences. For severall persons of the Gentry not being able to hear a Liturgy, (a way of Prayer which every Church in the Christian World but ours then had) and Sermons from such Divines as were not Puritans, chose rather not to go to Church at all then be there present at the Worship they disgust-
ed; and no marvell that thus neglect-
ing Gods publick service, they at last grew unconcern'd in any Religion.

The like temptations to Atheism would be incident to many that are not of the Gentry, if Liberty as has been propounded should not be given to the Non-conformist Divines. For though severall of this sort of men would exercise their Devotion in private meetings, and some would joyn with such publick Worship as was to be had, yet many would hear no Sermons at all, as possibly not like-
ing that which looks like a Conven-
ticle, and more disliking the way of
praying and preaching us'd by very
F many

many Divines that adhere to the former Episcopacy. Now 'twere pity that this disease of Speculative Irreligion should infect the Commonalty as well as others, and that by the persecution of Ministers, who differed from us in lesser things, we should as it were nail those Canons that might be employ'd in battering the Atheism of the Age, because they are not all of the same length and shape. Which Atheism I fear hath occasionally been not a little advanced by the disagreements of Ministers about the Divine Right of severall forms of Church-Government. For things to be believed and done in order to salvation, can have no more then a Divine Right, and their opinions of Discipline have claim'd so much; and by this means they have made some foolish men apt to think that the Trumpet of Religion giveth an uncertain sound, and that nothing at all is of any Divine Right. I account the body politick of the Nation to be as well

well concern'd in the upholding Religion as the Souls of men; the Majesty whereof would be sufficiently kept up, if the Teachers of it did either agree in all points about it, or else in this one thing, that the dissenters in lesser Controversies of Religion are obliged to allow a mutual toleration. And indeed when I consider what opinions men call one another Hereticks for not agreeing in, it seems to me the same thing, as if after the Pope had pronounced *Virgilius* the Bishop of *Salsburg* Heretick, for saying there were Antipodes, he should have call'd the Pope Heretick too for saying there were none. These parties that differ so in the circumstantial points of Religion are equally Antipodes to one another, and alike near Heaven, and in the Revolution of a few houres they see the same sun, though not the same stars; I mean, they have the same Fundamentall, though not lesse considerable Truths. The Popish Religion among all the different Rituals

our fore-Fathers used was accounted the same, some Worshipping God, *Secundum usum Sarum*, and others, *Secundum usum Bangor*, &c. Why then may not the Protestant Religion be so esteem'd here among our little varyings? Though possibly some very few Divines of all parties here for want of Prudence and Goodnesse of nature may endeavour the rigorous imposing of things not necessary, that is, such as we may be without, and which all Protestant Churches but ours are without; yet will the Laity probably, and I hope a great part of the Clergy of severall persuasions be far from concurring with them as Abettors of such an odious work as may produce further mischiefs to Church and State, meerly to gratifie the blind zeal or unpurged choler of a few. If Gods Ambassadors have a mind to quarrell about Precedency or Ceremonies in Religious things, pretending that it is necessary to observe them most strictly, the people are

now

now grown so wise as not to think it necessary for themselves to 'encounter hazards, to make some of these Legats of Heaven submit to the Punctilio's of others ; just as severall Ambassadors from one Prince falling out in a strange Countrey about Ceremonies in Civil things, which one of them being of a loftier humour would reduce the rest to practice, would hardly find any of the Natives of the place concern'd in their debate, whatever love they bore to their Master.

FINIS.

now known to write as not to think it
 necessary for the first, as to encounter
 the second, to make some of these
 are of the same kind to the first
 of the same kind; but as several
 passages from one Prince falling out
 in the same manner about Germany
 are in civil things, which one of
 them being of a different nature would
 require the rest to be different, would have
 to be different of the nature of the place
 concerned in their debate, whatever
 love they bore to their Master.

FINIS

A
DISCOURSE

REPRESENTING THE
LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE,

That is Practised in
FORREIGN PARTS.

By N. Y. — +



L O N D O N,

Printed for *Nathaniel Brook*, and are to
be sold at his shop at the *Angel* in
Cornhill. 1661.

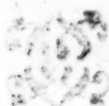
DISCOLISE

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

This is printed in

FORNARD

By N.Y.



LONDON

Printed for W. & A. G. Smith, and are to
be sold at his shop at the Angel in
Cornhill, 1661.

THE
LIBERTY of RELIGION,
Which is in use amongst
PROTESTANTS.

Is first inquir'd what
Liberty the States
which profess the Pro-
testant Religion give to
different opinions with-
in their Dominions?

To this I shall briefly answer, and
begin with the Northern Climate,
going along and relating what I have
observed in every different Jurisdicti-
on.

When I was in *Sweden*, I found the
Administrators of that Kingdom very

much inclined to Moderation towards the Reformed party, for they suffered them not only to have School-masters of their own to teach their Children, but also they permitted them to have private meetings in their distinct Colonies, wherein they had the free use of holy Ordinances in their own way without disturbance: And although the Clergy of the Nation did not willingly allow this, yet whiles the King *Gustavus* and his Daughter the Queen *Christina* ruled, their Liberty was not abridged; but when *Charles* came to the Crown by the Resignation of *Christina*, the old Chancellour *Oxenstiern*, in favour of the Clergy, caused the King to take an Oath at his Coronation, whereby he was obliged not only to restrain all publick exercise different from the Lutheran, but also to abridge the Reformed party of the Liberty which they had formerly enjoyed; which hath had some operation upon their freedom: but how far they are abridged of it now, I am uncertain.

In

In *Denmark* there is no Liberty granted to any that differs in judgment, so far as I have been acquainted with that State, only in *Holstein*, when the Remonstrants after the Synod of *Dort*, had not that Liberty which they desired in *Holland*, they planted themselves in *Eidersh* at *Fridericksburg*, where they and others also obtained the priviledg of the exercise of their profession without control, which is continued unto them still. Moreover, in *Holstein* at *Altena*, the High and the Low Dutch, and the French Reformed Churches have the Liberty of publick meetings in their profession; who dwelling in *Hamburg*, and not obtaining that Liberty within the City, have procured it within a little English mile from the Gates thereof.

In *Dantzick*, the three Professions, viz. Reformed, Lutherans, and Papists, have, or rather had, an equall liberty in the time of *Keckermannus*. The Reformed party had the preemi-

nence of the Government, and then they did in a friendly manner admit of some Lutherans to share with them in it (for in Religious concerns all were alike;) but since they have been admitted to partake with them in the Government; they have found a way to worm the Reformed party out of power, by which means they have abridged them of their ancient Priviledges and Liberties; so that before these late troubles they were forced to appeal to the King of *Poland*, who made decrees in favour of the Reformed party; but in these late troubles the waies of redress have been obstructed.

And at *Elbing*, when I was there the chief of the Magistrates, and the regents of the School also, being of the Reformed Religion, the Liberty was so equal that no party had any perceptible power over the other, but all was carried with that moderation, that no offence was either taken or given whiles I was there: but since (I fear)

seem) it is fallen out otherwise, a fierce Lutheran Minister succeeding in the room of him that then was there, who by dividing practices, and distinguishing forms, hath disturbed their Peace.

In Poland there was an absolute freedom for the exercise of all professions, and the venting of all opinions; the Papists, the Protestant, Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, Socinians, &c. all had an equal Liberty: and because the Protestants in former time found that by their Divisions, and distance in Communion from each other they were much weakened, therefore in the year 1570. they agreed at Sandomire, in a Synod of the three parties, viz. the confession of Helvetia, of Bohemia, and of Ausburg, to unite and make up but one body: to which effect they established afterward at many National Synods severall Orders, to remove and prevent scandalls and disorderliness from amongst themselves, and so confirm their unity

ty by the means of mutual Edification.

In *Transylvania* both the Reformed and the Lutheran profession are equally free, and in Nationall Synods they meet together, and consult in common, concerning the means of mutual edification ; whereof I have a large prooffe in the business of Peace and Unity , concerning which they have done more then any of the Churches in *Europe*, by answering all the doubts which were proposed unto them as Cases of Conscience to be resolved.

In *Germany* heretofore the reformed party did freely exercise their Religion under the Protection of the Princes of their own profession ; but the Lutherans did always make it a matter of Dispute , whether that Liberty did belong unto them yea or no ? yet now the Treaty of Peace lately concluded at *Munster* and *Osnabrugge* hath decided fully that controversy ; for, by a Statute-law it is de-

ter-

terminated that the reformed party shall have the same right and privilege of free exercise which Lutheranes and Papists have, and this is thus determined by the 7th. Article of the Instrument of Peace. *Quoniam vero controversie Religionis, &c.*

Now because the controversies of Religion, which are in agitation at this time amongst the forenamed Protestants, have not been hitherto reconciled, but have been referred to a further endeavour of agreement, so that they still make two parties; therefore concerning the right of reformed, it is thus agreed between them, That if any Prince, or other Lord of the Territorie, or Patron of any Church, shall hereafter change his Religion, or obtain, or recover a Principality or Dominion, either by the right of succession, or by vertue of this present Treaty, or by any other Title whatsoever, where the publick exercise of Religion of the other party is at present in use, it shall be free to him to have his Court chaplains of his own Confession about

about him in the place of his Residence, without any burden or prejudice to his Subjects; but it shall not be lawfull for him to change the publick exercise of Religion, or the Laws or Ecclesiasticall Constitutions which have been therewith; or take from these that formerly were there their Churches, their Schooles, their Hospitals, or the revenues, pensions and stipends belonging thereto, or apply them to the men of their own profession; or obtrude Ministers of another Confession unto their subjects, under the pretence of a Territoriall, Episcopall or Patronall right, or under any other pretext whatsoever; or bring about any other hinderance or prejudice, directly or indirectly, to the Religion of the other party.

And that this agreement may be the more firm, in the Case of such a change, it is lawfull for the Communitaries themselves to present; or such as have not the right of presentation, they shall have the right to name fit School-masters, and Ministers of the Churches to be examined by

the publick Consistory or Ministry, if they be of the same Religion with the Communalities, which nominate and present; or if they be not of the same Religion, they shall be examined in the place which the Communalities shall chuse; whom the Prince or Lord shall afterwards without any denial confirm.

This Statute-law of the Empire is the ground of all that freedome which the Reformed, or the Lutheran party, can lay claim to, when they fall under Magistrates of a different profession.

As for the observation of this Law, it is found that the Reformed Magistrate is almost every where more equitable towards Lutherans, then there are unto those: for in the Palatinate, at Heidelberg, and other places; in Hessen, at Smalcalden, and at Marburg, and in some places of Anhalt; in all the Territories of the Elector of Brandenburg, and in the Principalities of Nassau, where the Reformed have the supreme power, the Lutherans have their

their full liberry without interruption; but where the Lutherans have the supreme Authority in *Germanie*, I know no places where they permit the free exercise of the Reformed profession; but in the places named heretofore in *Holstein*, at *Fridericksburg* and *Altena*, and in *Hamburg* the *English* have their freedome within the City, but none else; nor doe I know any Imperiall City where the Magistrate is Lutheran, which permits the Reformed party to have the liberty of publick profession within their walls: there is one of the Lutheran Earls of *Hanaw*, who hath given of late years to the Reformed party dwelling in *Strasburg*, the liberty to build a Church upon his Territory, and to have their publick meetings therein: and one of the Lutheran Marquesses of *Brandenburg* hath done the like a year or two ago to the Reformed inhabitants of *Nürnberg*.

At *Bremen*, where the Magistrate is wholly reformed, within the City the Lu-

Lutherans have the possession of the Cathedrall Church, where they exercise their Religious Worship in publick; but there are complaints made of the late King of *Sweden*, that in the Territory under his Jurisdiction he hath suffered the Statute of the Empire touching the freedom of Religion to be violated, by casting out the Reformed Ministers, and imposing Lutherans upon the Reformed Professors, depriving them of the Liberty which they have enjoyed ever since the first Reformation of these places from Popery.

In the Low Countries of the united Provinces, the Lutherans, the Remonstrants, and the Anabaptists have a freedom to meet in a publick way; others of all sorts do meet in private; and the difference which is made between the Professors of severall parties is chiefly this, that the Reformed party, which doth own the National Confession, and are owned to be Members of the National Congregations

tions, have only the Priviledge and Preeminence of being admitted to places of Trust in the State, from which all others are excluded. And this Liberty of Religion which the united Provinces have yielded and maintained unto all sorts, hath made that little spot of ground to be the Centre of the Trade of Europe, having only three Sea-Ports, the *Wiching*, the *Mash*, and the *Tenel*: and these Ports are not easie neither, but difficult to be entered.

In the Cantons of *Switzerland* and *Geneva* there is no different Profession publickly tolerated: although in the Circumstantial way of the Administration of Ordinances, and in the particular order of Discipline and Government, each Canton is different from another; yet they fall not out about their differences, but correspond in a friendly manner in matters of common concernment.

In *France* the Protestant Churches are to be considered within themselves

selves, for the Liberty which they enjoy under their Popish Magistrate is not under our consideration; but the liberty which their Nationall Synod doth give to particular men to professe different opinions without breach of unity in the Church, is that which is to be observed, and may be a president to teach others Moderation; for in the late Controversies between Monsieur du Moulin and Monsieur Amyraut concerning Predestination, wherein many others were engaged on both sides, although some heats did begin to break forth; yet the Nationall Synod hath allayed the distemper, and preserved Peace and Unity in the Churches, notwithstanding the difference of judgment which was found amongst them. The freedom which the particular Churches have to depute some of their members from their Consistories to the Colloques and Provincially Synods is the means to preserve their Unity and Peace.

In

In *Switzerland* the freedome which the Churches enjoy doth wholly depend upon the Constitution of their order, as ratified by the Civil Magistrate, who in each canton is Sovereign, and upon the correspondency between the Churches, which is ordinarily managed by those of *Zurich* towards all the rest: for as the Canton of *Zurich* hath the precedency, and direction in all Civil matters of common concernment, so hath the Antistes and Consistory of *Zurich* in matters Ecclesiasticall a kind of trust put upon them to communicate to the rest, by way of correspondency, matters to be advised on for mutuall concurrence.

In *Germany* there is no such correspondency between the Churches, but their freedome, in the exercise of Discipline and Government depends wholly upon the Sanction which the Prince and his Ecclesiasticall Senate or Consistory doth make concerning the order and way of administering all things.

In

In the *Low-countries* the freedome of meeting in *Classes* and in *Synods*; (in *Classes* every Month, or oftner, if need be, according as the *Classes* are divided) in *Synods* *Provinciall* every year once) is the preservation of these Churches in unity; for the six *Provinces*, viz. *Gelderland*, *Holland*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Groning*, and *Overyssel*, hold their *Synods* so consecutively, that they can send from each *Synod* *Deputies* to another, to correspond with them, and to communicate matters of *Deliberation*, that there may be no causes of breaches between them; the *Province* of *Zeeland* hath no settled time of *Synodicall* meeting, but the *Classes* of *Middelburg* upon all *Emergencies* doth give notice to the other *Classes*, of the adjacent *Islands* of matters to be taken into consideration: So that in the *Low-Countries* the *Liberty* to meet for the ordering of all things within themselves, which preserves the

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Churches

Churches in *France* ; and the Liberty to correspond and to communicate one with another the things which they settle by order, which preserves the Churches in *Switzerland*, is more complete then any where else ; and because the Deputies, or rather Commissioners from the Civil Magistrate are always present at the Provinciall Synods, therefore their decrees are more valid, and yet altogether free in matters of spirituall concernment.

This is the Liberty which I have observed to be in use amongst Protestants within themselves, in the exercise of their profession, by publick meetings, by the administration of Government within themselves, by Classes and Synods, and by a Correspondency with one another in Religious matters. As for the Liberty which particular members have in each Congregation, and which the Congregati-
ons

ons have in each Classis or Col-
loque, and by what Rules that Li-
berty is limited, is a matter of
more diffuse consideration, and per-
haps of little use for the end for
which this information is desired:
therefore I shall not enlarge upon
that subject.

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Received of the Honble the Secretary of the
Board of Trade and Plantations

the sum of Five hundred and thirty

four pounds for the purchase of

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OF THE
LIBERTY of RELIGION

In use between

PROTESTANTS & PAPISTS.



If it be inquired what Liberty Papists have where Protestants bear Rule, or Papists give to Protestants when they have all the power :

It may be Answered by the consideration of the places where each power is prevalent.

On the one side, in *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and in all the Territories of the lower and upper *Saxony*, wherever Protestants have the sole power, no Papists are permitted to have any

publick exercise of their Religion ; and on the other side, in *Austria, Bohemia, Moravia*, and all the heritable lands of the House of *Austria*, in *Franconia, Bavaria*, and the upper Palatinate where the Papists have the sole power, no Protestants are permitted to have the publick exercise of their Religion.

These whole Territories forenamed on each side being entire Bodies within themselves, under one head either of the one or the other profession, without the intermixture of different Dominions, are uniform in the exercise of their Religion respectively different. But the intermediate parts of the *German Empire* are interwoven under severall Princes of different Religions, and therefore are of a mixt profession : my meaning is not, that the professions and forms of Religion's worship are mixed and jumbled together in one ; but that both professions are exercised, some here and some there, in different places.

And

And because the inhabitants of the intermediate Territories being mixed, and pretending to have each of them a right to the same places of worship, quarrells and strife did arise amongst them, therefore when they deprived one another of the freedom to exercise their profession, the Treaty of Peace at *Munster* and *Osnabrugge* did appoint the Restitution of places for the publick exercise of Religion on both sides, and ordered that all matters of this kind should be settled thenceforward as they were in use heretofore in the year 1624. which order occasioned a Deputation from all the States of the Empire at *Francford* in the years 1656, 57. and following, to see that Decree and other matters put in execution.

Now the Intermediate Territories are the Circles of *Westphalia*, of the *Rhine*, of the *Welterans*, of *Franconia*, and of *Suaben*; containing many Principalities and great Cities depending im-

mediately upon the Empire; which being of different professions, and mixed one with another in respect of their Territories and Jurisdictions, in the time of war none that was prevalent did suffer a different Religion to be exercised: But since the Instrument of the Peace made at *Munster* and *Osnabrug* was published, the Liberty of Religion is to be Regulated universally by the seventh article, and some other articles determining matters between Protestants and Papists; and according to this Constitution, although some Territories which formerly were under Protestant Princes are now under a Popish power, and *vice versa*, yet the Liberty of Religion is to be left unto each party as it was used in the year 1624. Thus the Duke of *Newburg*, and one of the Landgraves of *Hessen*, and a Prince of *Nassau*, and some others, are obliged to leave unto the Protestants within their Dominions the free exercise of their Religion which formerly they had.

had. In like manner in some of the Imperiall Cities, as in *Francford*, *Ausburg*, and others, the Papists have their free exercise restored unto them amongst the Protestants; at *Ausburg* also the Magistrate is half of the one and half of the other profession; but in all the other Imperiall Cities, so far as I remember, the Magistrates are wholly Protestants, except at *Cölen* and *Heilbron*, where they are wholly Papists.

Thus matters of freedome stand in the *German Empire*.

In *Poland*, *Hungaria* and *Transylvania*, the Protestants and Papists have heretofore had a promiscuous Liberty; onely whensoever of later times either of the parties did grow more prevalent in power, they have abridged each other of their Liberties: and now at this time the Protestants of *Transylvania* have put themselves under the Protection of the *Turke*, to maintain the Liberty of their Conscience, because the Jesuits by the power of the Empe-

Emperour, which they can command to bring about their designs, would have forced them to embrace their Superstition.

In *Switzerland* the Protestants and Papists when they made their league at first to maintain joyntly their Liberties against the House of *Austria*, or any other pretenders to have Jurisdiction over them, they agreed mutually upon this also, that if any of the Natives living in the Cantons of either side should change their Religion, (for then they were perfectly divided and separated upon the interest of Religion, and so have continued still, that no Papists have any free exercise of Religion among Protestants, nor Protestants among Papists;) that then they should be permitted respectively to sell their goods, and transport themselves unto the party whose Religion they should embrace: but of late the Popish Canton *Switz* did break this agreement, and would not suffer some of their Native inha-

inhabitants to partake of this freedom, but finding that some families had changed their Religion, they did confiscate their goods ; and taking hold of some of them, by the Instigation of the Friars and Jesuits, they condemned some of them to death, and others to the Gallies ; which was the cause of the late war which broke forth amongst them ; and although they cease from open Hostility, yet this business is not fully composed.

And because there are some places of Common Jurisdiction, wherein there are inhabitants of both parties, and the Cantons of each Profession put governors by turns for some years over them, it falls often out that the Protestant inhabitants in these Jurisdictions are commonly abridged of their Liberty by the Popish Governors ; which gives continuall occasion of complaints and disputes between the Cantons, and at last may break forth to some violent rupture, and to a totall suppression either of the one or the other. In

In *France*, by Vertue of the Edict of *Nantes*, the Protestants ought to have the full Liberty of their Religion in the places of their abode, and enjoy all the Rights and Priviledges which belong to Natives; but since the time of our troubles in *England* they have been very much abridged thereof in severall places; yet in *Oliver* the Protector his time they got some enlargement, which now since the Peace is made with *Spain* doth cease, so that they are under the danger of being persecuted every where, as being exposed to the fury of the multitude, without any assurance of Safety, further then it is an inconveniency to the Society of Papists themselves with whom they live; otherwise the Jesuits and Popish Emissaries are restless to stir up their zelots to molest them, and do what they can to extirpate them; witness that which fell out of late at *Montauban*, at *Bordeaux*, at *Dieppe*, and and elsewhere.

In the Vallies of *Piemont* the poor Churches

Churches there since the Peace made have still been molested more or less without intermission; for besides other matters, that which is their chief concernment, namely the Liberty to meet at St. *Giovanni*, to exercise their Catechisme, that not only the youth may be instructed, but those of riper years confirmed in the Protestant Religion, is wholly taken from them. This Liberty is in a manner the whole substance or chief part of their publick exercise; this formerly they have always had, and by this last treaty of Peace it hath been confirmed unto them; nevertheless they are deprived of it, and new matters of quarrell are formed against them for other pretences, and chiefly against their Ministers; for the designe is to fright away their Leaders, that being scattered like lost sheep upon the mountains, they may become a prey to the wolves that seek to devour them.

In the Low-countries both of the United and of the *Spanish* Provinces, there

there is a certain reciprocall Liberty for the Papists in the Dominions of the States, and for the Protestants in the Dominions of the *Spaniard*; but the Liberty is not equal, for in the United Provinces the States allow the Papists a certain number of Priests to administer unto them the things belonging to their Conscience in a private way, which is done by an expresse concession or condescension; but in the *Spanish* Dominions no such thing is granted unto the Protestants who live amongst them, but the Ministers who administer Holy things unto them privately, do it at their perill; they have no Concession to attend any private meetings, but only they are winked at, and suffered to doe (what they venture upon) by way of Connivence; so that the difference is, that the Papists in the United Provinces have an assurance of freedome which they enjoy, but the Protestants in the other Provinces have no such freedome assured unto them; which makes the Papists increase

crease and multiply in the Dominion of the States, and the Protestants diminish in the other Provinces: and the effect of this may be, that when some of the Papists shall creep into places of power, and finding the Protestants divided amongst themselves, and their own party strong enough to make a head with the assistance of neighbour foregin forces, they may make a totall change of Government in that Commonwealth.

FINIS.
